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614 778 202 card slipped under the front door. It may be remarked that the *beratu* is never worn or carried by a man simply as a badge. It is an identity mark *in absentia*.

(*b*) *As a Mark of Individual Abstinence*. The next use for 614 778 the *beratu* is a somewhat singular one. It is used by individuals as a sign of abstinence, a sort of self-inflicted tabu, whenever such abstinence has been the outcome of some 201 577 quarrel or grievance. The Orokaiva is very prone when his feelings are hurt to punish himself rather than the man who has hurt them; or, perhaps better, to take revenge upon the other party by punishing himself.

Thus, if a man fall out with his wife, he will thrust a sprig of his *beratu* through his armlet, and while he continues to wear it will receive no food of her cooking. Not that he altogether starves himself into relenting; some friend will cook for him until his mood softens, and then there are interchanges of gifts between the wife's people and his own, and, as I am assured, invariable reconciliation. Similarly a wife who has been accused by her husband of sponging on him, not working for her keep, will advertise her grief and indignation by wearing her *beratu*, and will for the time being refuse to eat another taro out of his garden.

A bunch of drooping leaves may be seen tied to a coconut palm in the village. The owner has fallen out with his neighbour over the boundary of his garden. The row of tree-trunks which constitutes the usual garden border has been displaced and shows an encroaching and unwarrantable bulge. Therefore he has set up his *beratu* to indicate that he has been imposed upon, and has broken off friendly relations with his neighbour; he will accept no hospitality from him (and give none) until the matter has been adjusted. Another man nurses some resentment against a near-by village. If he were bidden to a feast there he would go, but with his *beratu* in his armlet; and when the wooden dish of savoury taro was placed before him, he would wave it aside, or lay his *beratu* upon the food to show that he could not accept the hospitality of those who had wronged him. Then the offender would be put to shame and punished, and be sorry for what he had done.

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XI

WARFARE

THE Orokaiva have had something of a reputation as a fighting people, though others no doubt could dispute their claim to the doubtful distinction of being the most savage in the Territory. The fame of the Orokaiva in this respect is probably due to the resistance, more than usually determined, which they made against the miners some thirty years ago; and it is certain that they have held a more independent and fearless attitude toward the whites than is seen among many other Papuans. Among themselves they were bellicose in the extreme. Every village was on the *qui vive* against attack, and, except during the periods of rather ticklish peace and uncertain friendship, was probably joining in some plan of concerted aggression.

Although the title of this chapter is Warfare, the following pages will deal with indiscriminate fighting and killing as well as with the regular raid. There was no idea of sporting equality of chance when the Orokaiva was bent on killing. I have already given one or two random instances in which the solitary stranger was put to death as a matter of course. It may be fairly doubted whether a party of primitive Orokaiva meeting a lone stranger would hesitate to kill him any more than they would hesitate to kill a bush-pig. Nor does the warrior think it beneath his dignity to kill a woman. One is surprised at the pride which a man evidently takes in the slaughter of defenceless victims. A certain Pahua of Soroputa (one of the early village constables who still wears his uniform) accounted for three victims before he became a guardian of the law. The first was made on a raid on the Hunjovarehu people. The attackers having surrounded the village by night rushed it at morning; Pahua found a man sitting down engaged in eating his breakfast, and speared him before he had time to rise. His second victim was one of a fishing party caught

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181 517 at a disadvantage; Pahua speared his man in the side and he fell into the water. His third victim was a woman. Long previously Pahua had lost a brother killed by the Hunjovarehu people and was naturally nursing his revenge. It now happened that a Hunjovarehu woman, sister-in-law to one of Pahua's countrymen, was visiting his village of Soroputa. Pahua was informed that she was asleep in a house, so he stole in, speared the sleeping woman in the breast and struck her on the head with a club. He was not ashamed but proud of this exploit, which satisfied his long-delayed vengeance.

Inter-Clan Fighting

519 The raid, or concerted fight, may involve different tribes or merely different clans of the same tribe. I have already explained the general difference between the former engagement (*isoro*) and the latter (*embogi*), which is a comparatively trivial affair. It appears that the *esu*, an example of which has been described in connexion with the marriage payment, may upon small provocation develop into an *embogi*. Many such affrays took place during my stay among the Aiga, though I was only fortunate enough to witness one of them. This occurred at the taking over of a marriage payment. The charging and counter-charging had given place to the individual harangues in which old grievances were discussed with some bitterness. The excitement seemed to have died away, and the pig had already been killed when an inopportune taunt set the whole village in an uproar. Both parties rushed to arms and were immediately involved in a confused conflict with three or four lively vortices. In a scuffle of this kind there is a great deal of sham. The participants rejoice in the loud impact of their spears and clubs upon one another's shields, but they are not out to kill. Minor wounds are common, though they are concealed if possible from the Government. In the above-mentioned case I must report, almost with regret, that we succeeded in quelling the uproar before it had reached a more interesting stage. The most difficult to pacify were the women, who,

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law; and our subject may be divided roughly into two parts. There are first the norms, the ideals, the theoretical standards of morality, which, however dimly formulated in the native mind, are nevertheless to be discovered by observation of his conduct. These standards define the kinds of behaviour which, in relation to the society which has evolved them, are satisfactory, i.e. the kinds of behaviour which have been found to *work*. Selected by generations, they have been unconsciously designed to suit the narrow needs of family, clan, or tribal unit; they are essentially social norms, and they are meant to ensure the smooth running and happiness of social life. It is our first business then to formulate these standards—a work in which unfortunately we may look for little direct assistance from the native himself, who is not a preacher or a moralist. Now these standards, although there is no central authority to enforce them, are nevertheless observed with a large measure of fidelity; for the individual is so sunk in the social unit that he obeys its laws for the most part automatically. But no Orokaiva is perfect, nor is he absolutely under the thumb of the society he lives in, so that there is inevitably a falling-short of the standards; and our second task is therefore to discover what means Orokaiva society has of ensuring a fair degree of good conduct, of keeping the individual up to the scratch; in short what are the sanctions of Orokaiva morality.

The Sympathy Group

The primitive ideal of conduct divides itself immediately and emphatically into two. There is first the question of proper conduct towards one's fellows within the group, and second the question of proper conduct towards those outside the group; or in a phrase there are the standards of *intra-group* and *extra-group* morality. These two—divergent as they are in civilized society—are found to be almost antithetical in primitive society. It might fairly be maintained that the sphere, i.e. the actual size of the group, within which the former standard holds good should constitute a fair criterion of moral advancement. It is true there are those who (with more or less sincerity) feel themselves members

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of a world-brotherhood, and with such the distinction between intra-group and extra-group morality fades out of sight—theoretically. But in practice there are units of every degree, from nations down to families, to which the individual feels he owes allegiance; he gives them his sympathy, and from them he expects to receive sympathy; and their limits are the limits of his intra-group morality. For convenience this unit may be called the *sympathy-group*.

In terms of the above criterion, the smaller the group the more primitive the society, or vice versa. In the case of the Orokaiva I have already dwelt on the character of the clan. In the typical instance clan and village coincide, and this clan-village unit is the one which, more decidedly than any other, encloses the intra-group morality of the individual. But the unit is not hard and fast: it may fluctuate with circumstances. Sometimes the group dwindles, and a man finds himself taking sides with more immediate relatives against the other members of the clan-village unit (though it is safe to say that in the primitive society of the Orokaiva this does not happen very often). On the other hand the sympathy-group will sometimes embrace a number of clan-village units, as indeed it does (1) with the clan, which is sometimes widely scattered, (2) with the locality group, which takes in a number of villages, and (3) with the tribe as a whole. But, while civilized man may sacrifice the interests of the smaller and more immediate sympathy-group to those of the comprehensive body of which the former is merely a component, we do not find any such sacrifice among the primitive; and when, as it is sometimes bound to do, discord enters, it is followed by disintegration; the circle of the individual's fellows immediately contracts, and we find once more the elementary small sympathy-groups.

It is not necessary, then, to define strictly the scope of the sympathy-group, which is a fluctuating thing; though among the Orokaiva, as before stated, it is seen most typically in the clan-village unit. Whatever its size, however, it is always in existence, and proper conduct within and proper conduct without that group are very different things.

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Intra-Group Morality

When we turn to the consideration of intra-group morality the contrast is almost surprising. Here the ideal is one of concord and restfulness. Village life runs like a simple engine freely oiled; not called upon to achieve any complicated result, but fulfilling its routine work with a great deal of efficiency and a minimum of friction. While we may stand aghast at the quarrelsomeness of the Orokaiva group in its external relations, we cannot but admire the degree of peace and good fellowship that prevails within its circumference. This is not to say that discord never breaks the serenity of village life: for, quite apart from the raids and affrays which caused the Government most of their trouble before the tribes were pacified, there is still no lack of 'cases' of a more domestic kind. Nevertheless, one may risk the statement that, in its freedom from quarrels and ill-feeling, the group life of the Orokaiva compares by no means unfavourably with our own.

Those who administer justice and those who have consulted the records of justice among the Orokaiva may be disposed to disagree with this view as over-lenient, citing as their argument the number of crimes of violence that come before the magistrate. But it must be borne in mind that I am speaking of intra-group morality alone, and that fact immediately cuts out a very large proportion of these crimes; further, that the savage resorts to violence of a serious kind—spear-work and club-work—more readily than the member of a civilized community, and such violence, if it lead to bodily harm, can hardly escape the eye of the magistrate. It is no doubt true that a greater proportion of quarrels have a violent issue among the Orokaiva than among ourselves; but what I desire to emphasize is the relative freedom within the primitive group from the quarrels themselves.

In dealing with the standards of intra-group morality I shall first draw attention to a number of detailed points and then try to sum them up in broader terms. What follows is a rather sketchy list of Orokaiva virtues, on which we may begin with the more positive or active.

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511 Perhaps the most characteristic of them all is *liberality*. The liberal man is *bandembo*, the word *bande* meaning distribution, or especially the sharing out of food. It is easy to understand how this should be a popular virtue, for the Orokaiva, like other natives, are much addicted to the making of feasts—and not because of a merely gluttonous appetite, as some who know least about natives have supposed, but more because of the glamour and the excitement of a social gathering. It is true we cannot acquit the *bandembo* [554] of a certain motive of self-display; for there is nothing, not valour in war nor prowess in the chase, that brings an Orokaiva so prominently into the public eye as the providing of a big feast. Yet no one could deny the existence of true generosity. This is shown in countless details of daily life. The paddler pauses to refresh himself with cold cooked taro; he wrenches a mouthful with his strong teeth and hands the lump without a word to the man behind him, as a boy might give his chum a bite out of the apple. Or when the carriers halt for a 'smokeoh' and receive their stick of tobacco, there is never one of them but has a puff or two; and when they push on again with their loads, a man will place a half-finished cigarette on a stump by the track, and another coming behind will hastily snatch it, take a few draws, and leave it once more on another stump fifty yards farther on for the next man.

511 431 Although there is no systematic sharing of food supplies, yet the constant gifts and the feasts large and small achieve in the long run what amounts to equal distribution. As we have seen, the family is a self-supporting unit and garden produce is privately owned; further, since every man and woman works hard enough for the supply of immediate wants, there is no scarcity (except in a hard season when all may suffer alike). Therefore we may take it that in common daily life the consumption of food is fairly equal all round, and when a man with his family and dependants have a surplus, that surplus will not be devoted to private over-eating, but to a feast; and the succession of these feasts means in the long run that the fairly equal distribution of food is maintained. To give freely of one's food is regarded as the

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proper thing to do; it is an elementary virtue in respect of which there are few failures. Of actual greed it is hard to find any evidence: informants quite understand what is meant by the word, yet I never persuaded them to name a man with a reputation for it. No man, I am told, would hesitate to ask for food among his own people, nor for betel and tobacco among outsiders—though to speak truth the asking would probably never be needed; but it appears there are some who go beyond proper bounds and are inclined to impose on hospitality. Such individuals are called *basiri*, though I do not believe there are many of them; indeed, it was stoutly affirmed in one quarter that there were none except for children, who had a right to be *basiri*.

For his liberality a man receives a reward of honour; but beyond that—and this should not be thought to disqualify it entirely as a virtue—he constantly looks for an equal return in kind. This is one of the striking features of primitive economics—the return of gift for gift, the maintaining of a balance. The return may be made long subsequently, but it may be called a matter of honour to equal or exceed the original gift; just as it is a matter of disgrace and lowered self-esteem to fail. There can be no question that self-display enters into the primitive virtue of liberality, and it is in respect of worldly wealth that the individual seeks most to display himself. One might almost say that the native made a virtue of wealth and that liberality was compounded of two things—mere wealth and true generosity.

There are many observers of Papuan natives who will be amused at the inclusion of *industry* with the other Orokaiva virtues. While having no practical interest in the amount of work a native does, I cannot in my own judgement absolve him from the charge of laziness; but nevertheless, allowing a relative value to the term, industry is regarded in native eyes as deserving of commendation. The industrious man is *puru-buso*, which means simply expert in or given to gardening, for *puru*, the garden, is the usual scene of Orokaiva labour. A lazy man, in the native sense, is *puru-awbo*, literally one who is not a gardener, and of course the term applies as well to the other branches of work. It is perhaps

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461 as a necessary condition to wealth and the opportunity for display that industry is regarded as worth while. Otherwise the native, who enjoys *progo* (rest or leisure) more than work for its own sake, might be disposed to discount it altogether. But the fact is that he does not. While loafing occupies a good deal of the Orokaiva day, we do not find any who neglect their work to an extent which in native eyes would be culpable (unless it be a wife in the eyes of her husband); and on the other hand a man who works harder than most is admired for it.

517 476 While the Orokaiva family is obliged to support itself, and is in the ordinary round of life a working unit, we find numerous instances of a wider co-operation. Such co-operation is seen especially in the earlier stages of gardening, in fencing, in sago-making, and in the hunting or fishing expedition; and the point that claims our attention is that among those who are expected to participate in such undertakings there are commonly no defaulters. I have asked often enough what would happen to a hypothetical defaulter, but such questions seldom meet with a satisfactory answer because one's informants seem almost unable to visualize an unusual situation. It is answered simply that all the able-bodied who should take part will take part; nor can I recall any concrete case of a man deliberately shirking his duty in any major enterprise of the group. This willingness to co-operate or assist is a sufficiently striking native trait which we may call simply *helpfulness*. It is seen most strongly perhaps in war or in minor quarrels, where the native is always too ready to take up the cudgels in behalf of his people or his friend: it is the active aspect of clannishness. One of the reasons why a village is sometimes almost depleted of its young men because they all elect to 'sign-on' for labour in a batch is simply this desire to stand by one another. 'What will happen to our brother', they say, 'when he is set upon by a mob of stalwart Kiwais, if we are not there to help him?' But in all the incidents of daily life the same spirit of helpfulness is apparent: a man is lost, and there is a great turn-out to find him; if he is ill or in distress he is never neglected; if he cries 'Help!' there is an excited

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rushing to the scene. On the whole we may say that the Orokaiva seldom fails in this duty of helping the members of his group.

A passive virtue, yet one which possibly ranks first in Orokaiva estimation, is that of *good temper*. I find no specific term for it, but the good-tempered man is called simply *jawo-embo*, or 'good man'. A squabbler, a vituperator, or a bully is strongly disliked, and since it is these very propensities—even that of mere vituperation—which bring credit to a man when he directs them against the outsider, we see at once a contrast between intra-group and extra-group morality. A man of anger is *tumo-buso*, which could be said to mean literally 'liverish', but which in actuality implies something more fiery than mere crabbiness. A man is *jajuno-buso* if he is given to verbal quarrelling, and *embogi-buso* if he be an actual brawler. Such a one was Buninia, who some fifteen years ago was a noted warrior among the Aiga. With his great size and prowess a fierce temper combined to make him almost a terror to the neighbourhood. As a warrior he was named as particularly *sarika*; but his offensives were not always directed towards the legitimate enemy. He had stolen pigs and fought with neighbours in near-by villages, so that he is nowadays remembered as a strong man but a bad one. But usually there is very little that resembles bullying in a native village. To force a man to do one's will by personal violence is a thing that hardly enters the native's mind; and when a fisticuffs occur—which in fact is seldom—one ventures to believe it is only in the heat of anger. Between husband and wife it is somewhat different: a man may thrash a neglectful spouse in order to give her a better idea of her duties, though the corrective aspect is probably not very prominent when a man is belabouring his woman in a rage. All informants have agreed upon the justifiability of wife-beating, but they have all agreed that there are proper limits, and an habitual wife-beater has a bad name. I have seen children smacked, but never chastised, and would venture to say that when children are beaten it is only in anger and not with any cool intention of punishing them or improving them. I remem-

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ber noting the fondness of one man for his son, an attractive boy of six or seven years. Asked whether he ever beat the child he said, 'No; his first son had gone to work on a plantation and had died there. How could he beat his second son?' On the whole it may be said that the Orokaiva hold up good temper and kindness as a virtue, a thing which society demands from the individual; and on the whole, again, they carry out that ideal to a greater extent than is popularly supposed.

Along with this ideal goes that of *dignity* or weight, very much akin to the classical *gravitas*. A man is admired if he can make his personality felt, but in so doing he must not make a nuisance of himself. He may fulminate against the enemy, and will even be praised for it; but at home he does better to play the role of strong silent man. Such characters are undoubtedly admired, though one cannot profess to discover any consistent expression of the ideal. The gravest *paterfamilias* will on occasion cast aside restraint and become a ranter and does so, too, without losing his dignity in the eyes of the village. But a chatterbox, or one who reveals his excitability too frequently, is under ordinary circumstances regarded as a bore.

Another ideal is that of *courtesy*, and by this I mean something wider than mere politeness. Indeed, of formal politeness as we know it ourselves there is rather a conspicuous absence. The Orokaiva is off-hand when he does a kindness, and apparently indifferent when he receives one. He does not offer his friend a betel-nut with a bow and a smile, but throws it surlily across; and the friend does not say thank you, but picks it up and tears the husk off with his teeth, vouchsafing neither word nor even look to the man who gave it. But—and this is the best thing we can say of the native—there is a very high and constant regard for others' feelings. Towards the enemy you may point the fingers and twist or screw the hand in the infamous gesture called *gingi gongo*, and call him the child of a devil-devil, or even tell him he has a scraggy neck; but it is only in the extremity of rage that a man would insult his clansman or fellow villager. To point at a man is out of taste; to swear at him would be to

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provoke an open breach; to gibe at his personal deformity would be the last blow. Baldness, for instance, is regarded as unseemly and ridiculous; but there are no Elishas and no mocking children. It is not of course to be supposed that men of the same group never bandy words, yet rudeness and abuse are always deprecated. Ordinarily the native, who is keenly enough alive to the peculiarities of his fellow, will only refer to them behind his back, and this for no other reason than to avoid doing injury to his feelings. Roughness or rudeness is said to produce in its victim that emotion, or complex of emotions, called *meh*, which we usually and somewhat inadequately translate 'shame', and it is regarded as a serious thing; so much so that if a man commits an unjustifiable affront, not only does the victim suffer, but the culprit's fellows, who feel they share his responsibility, will be positively covered with vicarious *meh*.

We may now turn to the consideration of *practical honesty*. One cannot claim that there is here any high abstract ideal. The native certainly feels no moral obligation to tell the truth in all circumstances—as who should know better than one who spends his time in questioning them? But honesty is a virtue at least in the limited and practical sense of respect for property. Petty thieving is common enough and is treated with a good deal of tolerance, though, considering the absolutely unguarded condition in which property is commonly left, the general honesty of a native village may impress one rather favourably, and would certainly bear comparison with that of a civilized community. It is probably true that as European influence first extends among a primitive people, the decrease in crimes of violence is more than countered by an increase in thieving and other crimes of stealth, and whatever the cause of this latter condition, it implies the decay of one primitive virtue. It is at any rate the common experience of Europeans that the more sophisticated natives are more inclined to steal.

Lastly, we may refer briefly to *married chastity*. Among the Orokaiva a woman is expected to be faithful, even during long absences of her husband. There is no bartering or lending of wives, and the only exception is during the cere-

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837 monial licence that follows an initiation ceremony (p. 192). The question of how far this rule of chastity is regarded or disregarded in practice does not concern us for the moment; the fact of interest is that adultery is considered an offence; so that those, particularly women, who are known to commit the offence habitually are generally despised and compared to dogs. There is, of course, no such restriction
836 upon the unmarried, though it has been observed elsewhere that young people do not give their passions an entirely free rein. As for continence in itself, I cannot find that it is
831 ever regarded as virtuous in any degree, unless it be enjoined by some ceremonial necessity.

Summary of Intra-Group Morality

• 511 183 The foregoing does not claim to be more than a fragmentary list of native virtues. However, it covers enough ground to allow us to see the general trend of Orokaiva ethics. The group, as we have seen, lives within itself a peaceful and contented life. It cherishes no distant and ambitious ideal of progress, but contents itself with two main requirements—(1) material plenty, and (2) internal concord. The individual must fit himself into this scheme, for the virtues enumerated above are essentially social. There is little, if any, idea of a self-centred righteousness. On the contrary, each virtue implies agent and reagent. Not incontinence, for instance, but adultery is condemned, because a right of possession has been infringed; not gluttony, but greed, because others must suffer by it. In fact the norms of individual conduct have been evolved to meet the needs of society, to satisfy its ideal of a somewhat passive well-being. The moral factors in this ideal are, on the positive side, Liberality, Industry, and Helpfulness; on the negative, Good Temper, Dignity, Courtesy, Practical Honesty, and Married Chastity. They might be summed up in two terms, if we allow them their widest meaning, viz. (1) co-operation and (2) self-restraint, which are the two main moral requirements that correspond with the two main social requirements of material plenty and internal concord.

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Attempts at Standardization

Native morality is for the most part inexplicit; we do not expect to find an established code, and it is mainly by observing conduct and its apparent reaction on the public mind that we arrive at any general principles. But it is worth mentioning the few incipient traces of standardization. The foregoing list of virtues will call to mind the *otobu* ideal, the character of the *otobu-embo*, and the instructions which are given to the youth or girl who receives the emblem (pp. 191, 204, 205). Apart from being urged on to deeds of valour, the recipient was enjoined, with more insistence perhaps, to observe the milder social virtues which would make him an amenable or respectable member of the group. Such versions as I heard of the moral instruction given at the *otobu* ceremony were possibly somewhat abbreviated, but their tone was consistent, and it is fair to say that the *otobu* injunctions are a brief *précis* of social morality, and would thus constitute a standardization, albeit only transmissible by word of mouth.

There is a word *iggo* (Binandele *yego*) which may be translated 'moral law', or perhaps, since the examples are all negative, 'moral prohibition'. The examples were such as the following: not to steal a man's vegetables, canoes, spears, &c.; not to usurp his fishing rights; not to take his dog to hunt, but to drive it back if it followed the hunter of its own accord; not to commit adultery; not to beat one's wife overmuch; not to commit assault on another man. These *iggo* were for adults; they did not apply to children, who had to be treated with so much indulgence; still less to dogs, whose nature it was to steal on sight. While not implying standardization, the mere existence of the word hints at a definite conception of right and wrong.

With respect to property it is worth noting under this head the various tangible protection marks. Whatever their sanctions they have no real value as physical barriers to trespass or appropriation.

(1) The commonest is *papara* or *esu*, the frond of coco-nut palm tied about the butt, which means that no one is to

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423 climb for nuts. (2) The *beri* is a strip of bark or a liana tied
201 to uprights and encircling a house or some forbidden
● 577 ground. (3) A *baribari* is some object, usually leaf or twig, placed in the cleft of a split stick and set up, e.g., at the mouth of a creek as a sign of a fishing right. (4) *Inja* is simply a few handfuls of grass laid across a track to bar the passage. We might include (5) the *naturari* and *pamba* (p. 226), which serve to mark a village tabu on the coconuts, and (6) logically enough the ordinary garden boundary, *tani*, which consists merely of a series of tree-trunks or branches laid on the ground between adjacent plots. These are all regarded quite strictly: no man would step over an *inja* or take a short cut across an area enclosed by a *beri*. Less regular marks which may serve as reminders for some casual rule are observed with equal stringency. For in-
[524] stance, I have seen an eight of diamonds wedged in a split stick and set up in a village to forbid the playing of cards; it had been erected by a man of influence who has somehow acquired conscientious scruples regarding the forbidden game. The sanctions for the strict observance of these marks will be discussed presently; the signs themselves are described here merely to show the existence of tangible safeguards, principally, but not always, of the law of property.

Education

861 We have discussed at length the theoretical standard or ideal of morality; but performance naturally falls short of the ideal, and we have now to consider the means by which Orokaiva society seeks to prevent that falling-short. It is not necessary to dwell upon the customary sanction, which is as obvious here as in other primitive societies. Suffice it to say that the almost automatic obedience of the native to the customs of his people and his almost unfailing concurrence in social desires go a long way to account for the law-abidingness which we have seen to be characteristic of the Orokaiva group. Nor is it necessary to treat at length of direct training as a means of ensuring morality, viz. the means of education. Education in the broader sense of the word is as much a means toward morality with natives as

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man return home at evening and find one of his spears taken from his verandah; when his inquiries failed to trace his spear he took an axe and razed his house to the ground before the eyes of the whole village. Such an attitude of mind has a definite name, *sisira*, and is indeed very often to be met with. Composed, I imagine, largely of anger and self-pity, it does not fail to excite a response in the impressionable heart of the man whose offence has caused it. He is affected with *meb*, that complex state of mind which, following the lead of pidgin English, I have elsewhere translated 'shame'. But whereas in the *meb* caused by public reprobation the predominant emotion is self-abasement, there is in the *meb* that results from a sense of having wronged a fellow man a definite admixture of pity. However, the culprit is very effectively 'put to shame', and very unpleasant he finds it.

The sympathetic sanction is therefore no more than the fear of injuring the feelings of any member of the sympathy-group; and I cannot but regard this as a fundamental motive. In fact there would appear to be a very definite *sentiment of friendliness* toward all members of the group, as on the other hand there is a definite *sentiment of enmity* toward all those who are outside its pale. I will not venture to debate the question of the instinctive bases of these two opposite sentiments, nor the question of whether they may not be instinctive reactions in themselves. But for the present discussion it seems that the sentiment of friendliness is fundamental, requiring no ulterior explanation, and that it is a natural guarantee of morality because it implies a desire not to hurt the feelings of those to whom it extends, i.e. it provides the sympathetic sanction.

The Moral Sense

Lastly there arises the question whether our native may be said to have a moral sense. Naturally he possesses no idea of morality in the abstract; he does not set up good conduct as an ideal, and is certainly free from any charge of priggishness. On the contrary, his good conduct is for the most part unreflective, a matter of routine; so that every

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native usually and easily does what in native eyes is the right thing. It is probably true that he has a clearer sense of wrong than of right; for while happily free from any objectionable pride in himself for doing right, he is most unpleasantly affected when, as occasionally happens, he does wrong; and it is then, if ever, that he becomes for the moment aware of morality.

What we have seen regarding the sympathetic sanction may justify the conclusion that when a native hurts one of his fellows he feels in himself that he has done wrong; and that emotionally he finds himself just in that state which we describe by the word 'conscience-stricken'. It would seem then that we may credit him with a moral sense to this extent, viz. a deep-seated, if not actually innate, tendency to avoid injuring his fellows, which in conflict with his other selfish or anti-social tendencies, acts as a natural guardian of morality.

It appears, therefore, that what has been called the sympathetic sanction might with fairness have been called the moral sanction, and there is no doubt that, whatever name we give it, it is no less effective than either the fear of retaliation or the fear of public reprobation in keeping the individual from doing wrong. On the whole we are in danger of underestimating the scope of native morality. Being in certain respects so different from our own, it has been by some too freely discounted or even entirely ignored. But all genuine inquiries, however backward they may find the native in respect of our own standards, must forbid us to excuse or brand him as 'unmoral'.

The foregoing estimate is perhaps more generous than some others who know the Orokaiva well might be inclined to make, but it is perhaps nearer the truth, because the writer has been fortunately placed in a position, as it were, of complete neutrality. For to one who has lived for some time in close association with the villager, and who, by not requiring any unwonted service, does not have to contend with sullenness or disobedience or laziness; and who, by being under no obligation to teach a higher morality, is free from any disappointment in what must seem at times an

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incorrigible wickedness—to one so placed an impartial view of native virtues and failings will come more easily. And in conclusion one may promise that such an impartial view will discover less to despise or pity in the native's character and much more to admire. But all who know the Orokaiva best will share the writer's opinion that on the whole they are what we should call a very good lot. 577

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SOCIAL CONTROL AMONGST THE OROKAIVA

By MARIE REAY

Introduction

"Orokaiva" is a general term denoting people speaking Binandele and related dialects who occupy a large part of the Northern Division of Papua. Orokaiva society was investigated in some detail in the 1920's by the late Dr. F. E. Williams, Government Anthropologist. This article is based upon data furnished in Dr. Williams' published work,[1] supplemented by observations recorded by the author during a brief field period early in 1951 which was interrupted by the eruption of Mt. Lamington. My own observations refer to the Wasida or Jegase Sarahu tribe,[2] whereas some of Dr. Williams' information was gathered from the Aiga, Binandele and Tain Daware tribes, which are situated in other parts of the Division but nevertheless reveal a social organization practically identical with that of the Wasida people.

In investigating social control amongst the Orokaiva, three aspects will be examined which would seem to be important in any empirical study of social control. Firstly, there are the ideals people expect one another to try to live up to: the Orokaiva use the convenient term *otohu* to refer to these. Secondly, it is necessary to study education in conformity, which involves a consideration of Orokaiva childhood and an examination of the ritual of initiation from this point of view. Thirdly, there are the actual sanctions operating to encourage conformity with Orokaiva ideals. There will be an attempt, finally, to assess the effectiveness of this system.

(1) OROKAIVA IDEALS

The Orokaiva term *otohu* is perhaps midway between behaviour which is normally expected and that which is ideally desirable. This term is used in two senses: adjectivally, it indicates that the person so described is well-behaved in certain definite ways and, secondly, it signifies an honorific ornament worn by a large number of people. A man is *otohu* if he is generous and helpful, and is diligent in gardening and hunting[3]; also, the *otohu* man does not quarrel or brawl, he does not steal, nor does he commit adultery. A woman is *otohu* if she listens to her husband and does not speak to him angrily, if she is faithful to him and accompanies him wherever

[1] F. E. Williams, "Plant-Emblems Among the Orokaiva," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LV, 1925; *Orokaiva Magic* (1928); *Orokaiva Society* (1930).

[2] Called the Jegasa-Sarau tribe by E. W. P. Chinnery and W. N. Beaver (*Papuan Annual Report* for 1914-15, pp. 138 ff.).

[3] *I.e.*, if he is able to vary the diet of his household occasionally with food from the bush, and if he works his garden regularly.

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he goes, and if she does not steal from the other women. Orokaiva society is organized about the men and the expression of their personalities. To be *otohu*, a man has to be generous; what is required of the woman is that she should concur in her husband's generosity. Wealth is valued, because the possession of enough pigs and a good supply of taro makes it possible for a man to hold a feast. Holding feasts is the epitome of generosity, which is the most important Orokaiva virtue. Men are encouraged to be highly individualistic. Women are individualistic, too, but this seems to be a by-product of male individualism.

The *otohu* ornaments, which are worn by many, are presented during the initiation ceremony to some of the novitiates, but they may be acquired later, on payment of a pig. They were largely homicidal insignia in former times. Some of them still signify that the wearer has killed a pig, but mostly they are ornaments which express the wearer's preparedness to enact the virtues listed above.

How far do the Orokaiva conform to the *otohu* virtues? They are generous and helpful to one another. They work their gardens regularly enough to ensure a plentiful supply of vegetable products from the fertile earth. Apparently adultery takes place rarely, although some of the women habitually accuse their husbands of fornication. Stealing is rare. But the Orokaiva men quarrel and brawl, and the Orokaiva women use "strong talk" to their husbands. So long as the individual does this only occasionally, he or she can still claim to be *otohu*. I have stressed the *otohu* virtues to make it clear that the norm in Orokaiva society is not in conformity with minimum legal requirements, but an approximation to ideal standards.

As well as conforming to the *otohu* ideals, an adult male is expected to be strong and fearless. This expectation is largely unverbalized, excepting in reminiscences of the idealized past. The Orokaiva have a bloody background of constant warfare with the Managalasi and the Togaho as well as continual internecine strife. The war leaders, fearless and fearsome, are greatly admired in retrospect and are held up to the young boys as examples of ideal personalities to emulate. When an institution loses influence and even disintegrates or becomes extinct, motivations continue to be patterned in accordance with them. Warfare happens no longer,[4] so to-day much of the training of Orokaiva boys is anachronistic, because of this "subjective lag."

(2) Education in Conformity

Viewed as a process which implements social control by teaching what norms should be adhered to and what are the consequences of aberrant behaviour, education presents three important aspects: Firstly, it involves the *internalization of norms or ideal patterns*. We are concerned with discovering the values held by adults to be important enough to impress upon the growing child. There are the explicit values, and in studying how these are impressed upon the child we should look for implicit values which are incidentally transmitted. Education occurs within the field of adult-child interaction, which is inevitably authoritative in some respects. In as

[4] Monckton, in the *Papuan Annual Report* for 1904, reports that the pacification of the tribes of this area was accomplished in that year.

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578 INGROUP ANTAGONISMS--prevalence and importance of antagonisms within the society; sources (e.g., economic deprivation, sexual rivalry, political repression, ethnic and religious cleavages, rigor of socialization or social control); expression in individual behavior (e.g., snobbishness, intentional impoliteness, ridicule, insults, vituperation); prevalence, causes and forms of quarrels; participants (e.g., husband and wife, business competitors, rival claimants to property); manifestations (e.g., verbal exchanges, fist fights, duels); reaction of onlookers; repression and control of aggression; etc.

See also:

Social stratification 56
Family antagonisms 89
Ethnocentrism 106
Economic competition 477
Wit and practical jokes 522
Rivalry in sports 526
Lying 577
Avoidance relationships 802
Moiety rivalries 816
Social control and gossip 828
Informal justice 627, 628
Torts and crimes 673
Slander 683
Litigation 691
Sorcery 784
Curing 789
Religious persecution 798
Quarreling and fighting by children 867
Control of aggression in children 868

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the ground before them. Then the waiting spearmen discharge their darts at the flying disk, seeing in imagination the wild pig flying past the hunter. This, like most native games, has no finality and no winner. Whoever lodges his mock spear in the rolling disk utters his shout of triumph—maybe his own name or that of his clan—while all rush forward to recover their weapons and form into line again for the next attempt.

A more uproarious pastime is the sham fight between two contending parties, when mock spears are thrown with great violence and evaded with great address. The spear is usually the six-feet-long stalk of a large herb weighted with its rhizome, a very solid knob, which gives power and directness to the missile and makes it worth one's while to dodge. The shield is a miniature of light palm spathe. Armed with these weapons the parties attack one another, launching their spears or parrying or dodging those of the enemy with all the cries and actions of true warfare. When the game is played by small boys, the contending parties draw closer and closer, snatching up and returning the spent weapons of their adversaries with gradually mounting spirit, until the combat thickens and may become a hand-to-hand scuffle in which the spear is turned into a club. An unlucky hit may compel one of the combatants to withdraw weeping from the fray, but one never sees bad blood engendered in these village games, however warlike, and a stand-up fight must be a very rare occurrence.

With the approach of dusk the various families of the village will forsake amusement and employment, or the lack of either, for the business of eating their evening meal. About this there is little or no formality. The housewife is responsible for the due preparation of the repast, which is the only regular one of the day. If she be a dutiful spouse she seldom fails in punctuality, for the hungry Orokaiva husband is short-tempered and any break-down in the catering of his household will cause domestic disagreement. (Indeed, it would appear that neglect of household duties may be as just and potent a cause of divorce as actual infidelity.) There will be a few friendly gifts of food. If a man

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512 has made a catch of fish his wife, having cooked it in the
431 evening, will carry portions across to her neighbours; but for the most part the meal is prepared for the immediate family.

512 After dark there is conversation and the liveliness of the
521 village will continue. Any happening of the humdrum day will have passed from ear to ear, and one may now hear
578 occasional shouted comments, greeted with yells of laughter from a distant fireside. Some incident of slighted feelings during the day may lead to an angry outburst in the evening, when the victim pours forth his feelings in a molten stream of indignation, which may call forth fierce retorts, but is more likely to be heard in silence by the rest of the village. Sometimes an individual, either to air his own grievance or express his opinion in an inter-clan dispute, will parade back and forth among the houses, shaking his spear and denouncing his enemy. But happily, though swift to anger, the Orokaiva is content to allow it a verbal overflow, and very seldom comes to blows with his fellow villagers.

512 Often the menfolk of the village will be met in a cheerful
533 company to enliven—or some would say make hideous—the night with song. The singers assemble in the *oro* or men's house, drawn into a close circle about a fire or preferably a kerosene lamp. Three or four drums and a conch-
[534] shell are the instruments of music, the last in the hands of a smallish boy who, though thrust somewhat into the background, willingly supplies the wind for an instrument which is more exacting of endurance than of musical finesse. When everything is in readiness the drums begin to beat and some precentor strikes up on a high pitch, singing with spirit and not without a certain taste one or two bars of a melody to words that are for the most part meaningless. As he finishes, his song is caught up and repeated in a very full-throated manner by the chorus, accompanied by the drums and the well-timed but not always harmonious blasts of the shell trumpet. The leader sings again and the chorus follows, till, after many repetitions, they all pause from their exertions and refresh themselves with betel-nut. With frequent changes of tune and frequent pauses this singing may go one till late at night; indeed on occasions of festivity

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the point are affixed one or more bunches of coloured feathers. 411
The feathers apparently serve only a decorative purpose.

(3) A spear round in section and without barbs is known as *bow*.

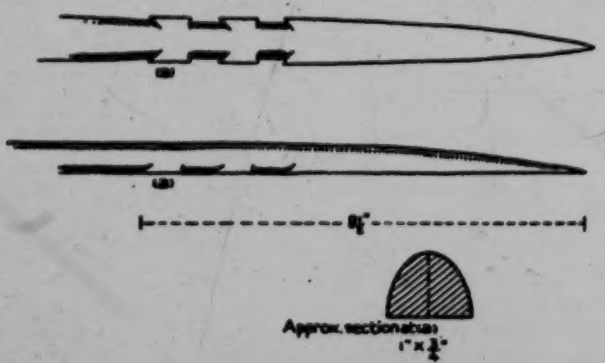

FIG. 17. *O-bi* or Pig Spear.

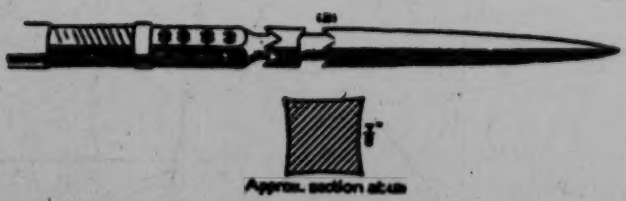

FIG. 18. *Owre* or Fighting Spear.

(4) A short thrusting spear or pike (*apau*) has a plain point at one end and a spatulate broadening at the other. This is meant less for throwing than for work at close quarters. In a recent inter-clan brawl, for instance, while one of the surprised villagers was clambering on to his house verandah in order to reach his spears there, he was rushed by his opponent and stabbed in the leg with an *apau*. It was no doubt this weapon—'a two-ended spear about 4 feet long'—with which a huge Orokaiva was about to kill one of Mr. Alec Elliot's police whom he had at his mercy, when a bullet from another policeman 'burst his heart'.[1] [578]

[1] *Annual Report*, 1900–1, p. 12.

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tives by marriage. Save for any untoward happening, therefore, the life of the family will fit into that of the clan.

It is only necessary to stress the point that the immediate family is recognized as a social unit; and the mere fact that a man sometimes quarrels with the members of his clan and migrates with his family or settles somewhere apart, proves that the family interest may compete with that of the clan. Both units are co-operative, the family especially in respect of the food quest, the clan in respect of ceremonies and feasts, and more importantly of fighting. The clan owns the garden land, but the family cultivates its own patch and reaps its own harvest. On the whole, since the clan displays a constant tendency to split into smaller groups of which the family is the nucleus, it is difficult to draw a line between the two. Yet for the same reason we may be right in saying that the family, as the indivisible unit, exerts the stronger hold.

Whatever the difficulty of deciding between these two, however, there can be no doubt that both of them, family and clan, mean more to the individual than does the tribe or the somewhat loose confederacy of clans within the tribe. A man's strongest sympathies certainly lie within the limits of the clan. Quarrels between families, i.e. within the clan, are inevitable, but they are easily adjusted. Not so the quarrels between clans themselves—land disputes and the like—which are prosecuted with great bitterness. Indeed, as sorcery cases show, it is almost invariably the stranger beyond the pale of the clan who is suspected. Any one within the clan is presumably a friend; any one without it is a potential enemy.

There is another kind of group-spirit with which the clan may have to contend, viz. that of locality. Once more the two are not frequently opposed. Often the village is occupied wholly by one clan, and in such a case the conflict could not arise. But when representatives of one clan (A) live in the village of another clan (B) (although the *modus vivendi* is usually satisfactory), there may arise the situation in which the clan (A) as a whole falls out with the clan (B). Witnesses have commonly assured me that a man would stand by his

Illegitimate children are rare 584 [848]

rare. It is said to be the custom to do away with them, though this is certainly not invariable.

Except of course in the case of *kerari* there is no necessity for a 'long engagement'. In one instance a girl had asked her sweetheart to take her away and marry her quickly, as she feared that if the matter were delayed some other boy might come along and disjoin her affections from him.

An Orokaiva youth is not put to the necessity of waiting till his income is adequate to matrimony. There are no expenses of upkeep in an Orokaiva household, and it is solely a question of furnishing a bride-price, for which he will be able to draw upon his father and his sympathetic clansmen.

Marriage Ceremonies. The actual ceremonies of marriage— 585 583
such as they are—depend in some degree upon the nature of the transaction. In most cases of capture and elopement there are naturally enough no rites celebrating the first cohabitation of husband and wife: the former simply appropriates the latter or entices her to his home. In the instances—frequent as they are—where the bride's people withhold their consent or are taken by surprise, they will come in force next morning to the village to abuse husband and wife, and they may even endeavour to drag the latter away. On one occasion I saw a runaway bride very roughly handled by the women of her own village and finally led away, stripped and weeping, to her home. But in the usual instance it appears that this visit from the outraged people of the bride is nothing more than a form. They make a pretence of dragging away the woman, but they really acquiesce with a bad grace in her remaining. Thus an elderly woman of Korisata tells how she clung to a corner of her husband's house when her own people came to remove her by force. Her people returned without her and, as in all such cases, received payment in due course.

Where the bride's people do not actually lay hands on 585 578
her, they may content themselves with vituperating her husband. Sometimes he is subjected to indignities of a more tangible nature. Endeavouring on one occasion to elicit something about marriage ceremonies, I began by telling my informants of the pretty customs of throwing rice and

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585 confetti; and then asked if they ever did anything of the sort
578 themselves. This did not meet with a very encouraging response until one of the group answered with perfect seriousness that they sometimes threw human excrement at the husband. This somewhat stunning reply became more intelligible when my informants explained that this was an example of the humiliation of the bridegroom by the indignant relatives of the bride. An old man whose daughter had recently eloped, being asked if he had dealt out this treatment to the young husband, gave another surprising answer when he said, 'No, he had used the man's name to his face.' The really strict mutual tabu on the names of *atovo* and *imi* (or father-in-law and son-in-law) makes this perhaps an even graver insult than the other.

This humiliation of the bridegroom amounts to a custom (though it is not resorted to in cases of regular exchange or when the match is arranged). The wife's relatives invade the husband's village and strew it with leaves and rubbish; they damage his house and play havoc in his garden. To this vandalism the husband's village submits with the best grace possible under the circumstances, and the bridegroom sits with his head hung in shame, even while, as in one case, a potful of ashes soaked with water is capsized over it.

585 When, in cases of exchange or purchase, both families, i.e. bride's and bridegroom's, are consenting, there may be a definite form of welcoming the wife to her husband's village. This form, however, to which is given the name *asanga*,[1] does not always accompany even the more regular kinds of marriage, and many cases of exchange seem to be absolutely without formality. On the other hand the *asanga* may be given subsequently to a girl who has eloped, as if, from the bridegroom's side at least, to regularize the match.

For the *asanga* a platform is constructed in the village. It has no roof but flimsy walls of frayed palm-leaf. Around it are suspended numerous gaily painted sheets of bark-cloth, which are presents from the husband's village to the bride, and through her to the bride's people. For three or four days (some witnesses have said as long as a month) the

[1] Binandele [illegible]='the cooking of food', or [illegible]='the sitting down'.

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who was of course a Sangara man. One of the attackers, hearing the familiar name of his fellow tribesman, bore her back to her original village and married her. This old woman, captured, recaptured, and thrice married, was found living in contented old age with her third husband. But she said she had been well enough satisfied with each in turn and refused to express any retrospective preference.

Instances could be multiplied without making the matter clearer. A captive wife is called *jigari*, which simply means 'captive'. When, as in the usual instance, she is of another tribe, she is called *baira*, a 'stranger', though this word does not necessarily connote captivity as well.

Sometimes the captive wife was allowed to bring an infant with her, and it appears that both mother and child were well treated and settled down in their new surroundings. Buninia (who was mentioned as the husband of eleven wives) captured a woman and her young daughter. He kept the latter until she grew up and then found her attractive enough to marry also.

Marriage by capture evidently did not always result in good feeling between the wife's people and the husband's. An elderly man who married his paternal uncle's widow (a captive) has never to this day visited her village, and avers that he is still afraid to do so. In another case an elderly woman never saw her people after being captured until the spread of Government control recently made it possible. Though, on the other hand, I have an instance in which the husband of a captive woman agreed to her warning her people of an impending attack; and in the making of peace between tribes such women were the recognized emissaries. This points to the possibility of compensation for the capture which would follow on or be a condition to reconciliation between the tribes; though I am unable to give an instance of such tribal compensation.

In nearly all the cases of which I know, the captive woman has come from another tribe, rather than from another clan within the tribe. That is to say she has been taken as a true prisoner of war. But I have a few instances in which a woman has been captured or abducted from one clan by

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583 The same disadvantage, that of a one-sided bargain, belongs to marriage by elopement. Of this again there are many examples. It appears that a nubile girl is regarded as a valuable asset to her people and in the ideal circumstances she marries into a clan which can return another nubile girl by way of exchange. But not infrequently a girl forms a love match in an undesirable quarter, and will go to her lover's village without the consent or knowledge of her parents. It is quite common for the girl to take the initiative (for proposals may come from either side) by asking her lover to take her. Then will follow the quarrelsome scene in which the bride's people demand restitution, and in which they may succeed in reclaiming the girl. But, as we have seen, the matter is usually compromised; due compensation is made and the girl remains with her husband.

There are two ways in which the due compensation may be made, viz. either by exchange (*mine*), or by paying a bride-price (*dorobu*). I am inclined to think that marriage by exchange is the Orokaiva ideal, and the great objection to elopement is that it may frustrate the intention of exchange. I give two instances to illustrate this feeling.

583 518 A young man of Korisata eloped with a girl of Koninida. The latter's people were infuriated and at first refused to consider the proposition of payment. They abused the young husband, cried out his name to his face, called him *puruambo*, a 'loafer', and *sovai-ta-mei*, the son of a supernatural monster. Eventually, however, they came out and accepted payment. But the leader of the Koninida people went so far as to lay hands on the young daughter of the leader of the Korisata party. The latter, however, said he had no intention of letting her go as he had a son of his own whom he wished to marry off, and he meant to keep this girl so as to make a suitable exchange.

In another case a young man, backed up by his father, complained bitterly of the conduct of his sister who had run away with a lover. He wished eventually to marry himself, and had set his heart on a certain girl. He had proposed therefore to effect an exchange by giving his sister to this girl's brother. His plea is now that his own

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chance of marriage is seriously damaged by his sister's elopement.

From such instances as these it appears that marriage by exchange is preferable to marriage by purchase—at least in the eyes of the marriageable man, and probably also in the eyes of their elders who sympathize with their desires. We may perhaps go so far as to say that the actual buying of a wife only takes place when circumstances make present or future exchange impossible.

Exchange may take place without payment of any kind from either side; or it may be accompanied by equal payments from either side, viz. *a-dorobu* and *bi-dorobu*, which do not affect the balance. Further, there seems to be a likelihood that the *bi-dorobu* or 'bridegroom-price' is always associated at least with the expectation of an exchange; or in other words we can speak of definite purchase only when the *a-dorobu* is given and the *bi-dorobu* withheld.

We thus find that of the four kinds of marriage, Capture, Elopement, Exchange, and Purchase, the first two, while taking place very commonly, are economically unsatisfactory. With regard to capture we may assume, and with regard to elopement we may actually see, a tendency to make the affair regular by giving or extracting compensation in the form of exchange or payment, and thus striking the economic balance which is so dear to the native's heart. Capture would still be common if it were not for the *pax britannica*; elopement is still common as it is. These are both in keeping with the nature of the Orokaiva (and one presumes of any other equally warlike and primitive savage). But except in the case of two enemy tribes between whom negotiation is impossible, they tend to resolve themselves subsequently into exchange or purchase. The remarkable gestures of hostility against the husband's people which sometimes characterize Orokaiva marriage, i.e. the attempted dragging away of the bride by her people, the humiliation of the bridegroom, the damaging of his village, and the bellicose demonstrations at the taking over of the *dorobu*, all properly belong to the irregular methods of capture and elopement; they are the aftermath, the retaliation. In so far

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Intra-Group Morality

When we turn to the consideration of intra-group morality the contrast is almost surprising. Here the ideal is one of concord and restfulness. Village life runs like a simple engine freely oiled; not called upon to achieve any complicated result, but fulfilling its routine work with a great deal of efficiency and a minimum of friction. While we may stand aghast at the quarrelsomeness of the Orokaiva group in its external relations, we cannot but admire the degree of peace and good fellowship that prevails within its circumference. This is not to say that discord never breaks the serenity of village life: for, quite apart from the raids and affrays which caused the Government most of their trouble before the tribes were pacified, there is still no lack of 'cases' of a more domestic kind. Nevertheless, one may risk the statement that, in its freedom from quarrels and ill-feeling, the group life of the Orokaiva compares by no means unfavourably with our own.

Those who administer justice and those who have consulted the records of justice among the Orokaiva may be disposed to disagree with this view as over-lenient, citing as their argument the number of crimes of violence that come before the magistrate. But it must be borne in mind that I am speaking of intra-group morality alone, and that fact immediately cuts out a very large proportion of these crimes; further, that the savage resorts to violence of a serious kind—spear-work and club-work—more readily than the member of a civilized community, and such violence, if it lead to bodily harm, can hardly escape the eye of the magistrate. It is no doubt true that a greater proportion of quarrels have a violent issue among the Orokaiva than among ourselves; but what I desire to emphasize is the relative freedom within the primitive group from the quarrels themselves.

In dealing with the standards of intra-group morality I shall first draw attention to a number of detailed points and then try to sum them up in broader terms. What follows is a rather sketchy list of Orokaiva virtues, on which we may begin with the more positive or active.

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rushing to the scene. On the whole we may say that the Orokaiva seldom fails in this duty of helping the members of his group.

A passive virtue, yet one which possibly ranks first in Orokaiva estimation, is that of *good temper*. I find no specific term for it, but the good-tempered man is called simply *jawo-embo*, or 'good man'. A squabbler, a vituperator, or a bully is strongly disliked, and since it is these very propensities—even that of mere vituperation—which bring credit to a man when he directs them against the outsider, we see at once a contrast between intra-group and extra-group morality. A man of anger is *tumo-buso*, which could be said to mean literally 'liverish', but which in actuality implies something more fiery than mere crabbiness. A man is *jujumo-buso* if he is given to verbal quarrelling, and *embogi-buso* if he be an actual brawler. Such a one was Buninia, who some fifteen years ago was a noted warrior among the Aiga. With his great size and prowess a fierce temper combined to make him almost a terror to the neighbourhood. As a warrior he was named as particularly *sarika*; but his offensives were not always directed towards the legitimate enemy. He had stolen pigs and fought with neighbours in near-by villages, so that he is nowadays remembered as a strong man but a bad one. But usually there is very little that resembles bullying in a native village. To force a man to do one's will by personal violence is a thing that hardly enters the native's mind; and when a fisticuffs occur—which in fact is seldom—one ventures to believe it is only in the heat of anger. Between husband and wife it is somewhat different: a man may thrash a neglectful spouse in order to give her a better idea of her duties, though the corrective aspect is probably not very prominent when a man is belabouring his woman in a rage. All informants have agreed upon the justifiability of wife-beating, but they have all agreed that there are proper limits, and an habitual wife-beater has a bad name. I have seen children smacked, but never chastised, and would venture to say that when children are beaten it is only in anger and not with any cool intention of punishing them or improving them. I remem-

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692 his (the son's) wife. The chief's daughter (who related the incident), now intervened between father and son, and said that she got a thrashing for her pains. But this is the only concrete instance which I can quote, and it is obviously one of domestic rather than judicial authority. Nor, again, is there any other judicial mechanism. It is popularly supposed that the 'elders' were in the habit of punishing offences: in the old predecadent days, it is said, they would punish with death the infringement of certain tabus. Without attempting a wholesale denial of such a condition in Papua, I must confess I have met with no trace of it in my own researches; and among the Orokaiva at any rate it is needless to say that the system did not exist. On the whole, one is struck by the high degree of personal freedom. For, apart from the restrictive power of custom and tradition, the native is left to do a good deal as he likes; so much so that one man, whatever his status, is reluctant to answer for another, to lay down what he will do or should do. 'He himself', he will say, with a certain inflection of the voice that dismisses all responsibility. At all events there are in Orokaiva society certainly no personal guardians of the law. This being the case with criminal offences, it is more than ever so with regard to civil offences. Natives are found 627 somewhat disinclined to meddle in the affairs or quarrels of 578 individuals, unless it be with merely pacificatory intentions or else in active partisanship. In these two ways interference is met with frequently enough. A number of bystanders will sometimes combine to separate and appease two men who are actually fighting or who (as sometimes appears) are mutually bluffing and suffer themselves rather willingly to be drawn apart. This is an amorphous kind of control, and the interference is merely in the interests of peace and quiet. On the other hand, the two disputants may be respectively joined by their immediate relatives and friends, when, so far from adjudication and the restraint or punishment of the offender, we get only an extension of the quarrel. Such partisanship is so characteristic that it is difficult to picture a situation, whether relating to criminal or civil offence, in which the group as a whole would actually punish one of

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its members. I have no concrete instance of this kind, and it seems likely that, as far as the Orokaiva are concerned, the offender would always find some supporters, and the result would be two parties confronting one another.

The Sanctions of Morality

It is clear that the sanctions of Orokaiva morality are something less solid than legal authority, and that there are virtually no guardians of the law. We may look for a supernatural guardian, i.e. for a supernatural sanction; but except within a limited field of conduct we should look in vain. By the supernatural sanction I mean the desire to please or the fear of offending any of those occult beings which are felt to possess more than human powers; and in Orokaiva religion, as we have seen, such beings are first and foremost, indeed almost exclusively, identified with the spirits of the dead, of whom the living stand in very real fear. The supernatural sanction, however, may be very briefly dismissed, for except in relation to semi-religious observances it cannot be said to exercise much influence. Though if we allowed a place in our list of native virtues to filial piety, even limited to piety of the posthumous kind, we should be dealing with what is truly one of the most important obligations in native conduct and one which is to a great extent dependent on the supernatural sanction. But this hardly comes within the scope of our present subject.

As for the sanctions which govern ordinary conduct, the relevant data point to a threefold division, viz. (1) the fear of retaliation, (2) the fear of public reprobation, and (3) the sympathetic sanction. These will be dealt with in turn, the last-mentioned obviously requiring some explanation.

Retaliation. This sanction naturally operates in regard to civil rather than criminal offences. Generally speaking, the retaliation will take either of two forms—direct violence or the more subtle method of sorcery; or, more correctly, retaliation is envisaged in either of these forms (for with physical retaliation no less than magical, the dread of it is out of all proportion to the actual practice of it). There is

3: Reay E-4, 5 (1951) 1953 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

he goes, and if she does not steal from the other women. Orokaiva society is organized about the men and the expression of their personalities. To be *otohu*, a man has to be generous; what is required of the woman is that she should concur in her husband's generosity. Wealth is valued, because the possession of enough pigs and a good supply of taro makes it possible for a man to hold a feast. Holding feasts is the epitome of generosity, which is the most important Orokaiva virtue. Men are encouraged to be highly individualistic. Women are individualistic, too, but this seems to be a by-product of male individualism.

The *otohu* ornaments, which are worn by many, are presented during the initiation ceremony to some of the novitiates, but they may be acquired later, on payment of a pig. They were largely homicidal insignia in former times. Some of them still signify that the wearer has killed a pig, but mostly they are ornaments which express the wearer's preparedness to enact the virtues listed above.

How far do the Orokaiva conform to the *otohu* virtues? They are generous and helpful to one another. They work their gardens regularly enough to ensure a plentiful supply of vegetable products from the fertile earth. Apparently adultery takes place rarely, although some of the women habitually accuse their husbands of fornication. Stealing is rare. But the Orokaiva men quarrel and brawl, and the Orokaiva women use "strong talk" to their husbands. So long as the individual does this only occasionally, he or she can still claim to be *otohu*. I have stressed the *otohu* virtues to make it clear that the norm in Orokaiva society is not in conformity with minimum legal requirements, but an approximation to ideal standards.

As well as conforming to the *otohu* ideals, an adult male is expected to be strong and fearless. This expectation is largely unverbalized, excepting in reminiscences of the idealized past. The Orokaiva have a bloody background of constant warfare with the Managalasi and the Togaho as well as continual internecine strife. The war leaders, fearless and fearsome, are greatly admired in retrospect and are held up to the young boys as examples of ideal personalities to emulate. When an institution loses influence and even disintegrates or becomes extinct, motivations continue to be patterned in accordance with them. Warfare happens no longer,[4] so to-day much of the training of Orokaiva boys is anachronistic, because of this "subjective lag."

(2) Education in Conformity

Viewed as a process which implements social control by teaching what norms should be adhered to and what are the consequences of aberrant behaviour, education presents three important aspects: Firstly, it involves the *internalization of norms or ideal patterns*. We are concerned with discovering the values held by adults to be important enough to impress upon the growing child. There are the explicit values, and in studying how these are impressed upon the child we should look for implicit values which are incidentally transmitted. Education occurs within the field of adult-child interaction, which is inevitably authoritative in some respects. In as

[4] Monckton, in the *Papuan Annual Report* for 1904, reports that the pacification of the tribes of this area was accomplished in that year.